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" Forasmuch as the state of every King, Ruler, and Governor of any Realm, Dominion, or Commonalty, standeth and consisteth more assured by the Love and Favour of the Subject toward their Sovereign Ruler and Governor, than in the Dread and Fear of Laws made with rigorous Pains and extreme Punishment for not obeying of their Sovereign Ruler and Governor: And Laws also justly made for the preservation of the Commonwealth, without extreme Punishment or great Penalty, are more often for the most part obeyed and kept, than the Laws and Statutes made with great and extreme Punishments, and in special such Laws and Statutes so made, whereby not only the ignorant and rude unlearned People, but also learned and expert People, minding Honesty, are often and many Times trapped and snared, yea many Times for Words only, without other Fact or Deed done or perpetrated:—The Queen's most excellent Majesty, calling to Remembrance that many, as well honourable and noble Persons, as other of good Reputation within this her Grace's Realm of England, have of late (for Words only, without other Opinion, Fact or Deed), suffered shameful death not accustomed to Nobles; Her Highness, therefore, of her accustomed Clemency and Mercy, minding to avoid and put away the Occasion and Cause of the like Chances hereafter to ensue, trusting her loving Subjects will, for her Clemency to them shewed, love, serve, and obey her Grace the more heartily and faithfully, than for Dread or Fear of Pains of Body, is contented and pleased that the Severity of such like extreme, dangerous, and painful Laws, shall be abolished, and annulled and be made frustrate and void."

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

BARRACKS AND RIOTS.—In my last, at page 597, I was, for want of room, compelled to break off my remarks upon this subject. I now resume them, under a conviction that the times are now such as call for our most serious attention to the means of preserving the internal tranquillity of the country.—We, at the page just referred to, left the Secretary of State, Mr. Ryder, introducing into the House of Commons, a Bill "more effectually to prevent the administering and taking of unlawful oaths." This bill was grounded upon the alleged facts, that the copy of an oath had been found in the pocket of one of the slain rioters in Lancashire, which oath bound the party not to reveal the names of the persons composing "*the committee*," and to put to death any "traitors that may rise up against us." But *what committee*, or who *us* were, is not stated, nor is there any *date*, either of *time* or *place*.—This oath is said to have been found upon the body of one of the men killed in the attack upon the factory of Messrs. Burton; but, it is not said *by whom* it was so found; there is not, that we hear of, any *proof* of the sort; the paper might be no more than the draft of something projected by the possessor; and, really, unless the *existence of a committee* in the disturbed counties could be ascertained, this paper does seem to me, as it did to Mr. Horner, Mr. Brougham, and Mr. Whitbread, to be too slight a foundation for a new enactment of the pe-

nalty of death.—These gentlemen opposed the introduction of the bill upon the ground, chiefly, of its inefficacy as to the object in view, contending that *severe laws* are less likely to succeed in repressing crimes than laws less severe; and they cited in proof, the consequences of the law passed this session against the Luddites in Nottinghamshire.—This is a very important subject, and the circumstances of the times render it even more so than it would otherwise be. I will, therefore, insert at full length, what the Prime Minister, Mr. Perceval, said in answer to Mr. Horner, who was the first to oppose the introduction of the Bill.—Mr. Perceval said, "that no time should be lost in sending down the Special Commission, which met with the approbation of the Honourable and Learned Gentleman. According to his view of the subject, Ministers would not do the duty they owed to the loyal inhabitants of the country, if they did not exert their utmost efforts to protect them, by a new law, from the attacks of those who set all former laws at defiance (*hear!*) What did Gentlemen mean when they recommended the trial of experiments on the Bill of 1798, at this period? Did they intend that while the trial, that would in all human probability be vain, was making, His Majesty's subjects should be assassinated, and their property demolished with impunity (*hear, hear, hear!*)? If Gentlemen on the other side of the House had possessed any portion of the information that every day reached

" Government, they would be the last to
 " recommend such dangerous delays, while
 " death was the fruit of the desperate ma-
 " chinations of the disturbers of the public
 " tranquillity. Were we to sit down
 " quietly to make experiments when an ef-
 " fectual remedy was in our power (*hear,*
 " *hear!*)? If Gentlemen had been called
 " upon to defend either themselves or their
 " neighbours from the attacks of these ruf-
 " fians, they would be convinced of the
 " folly of such an undertaking. This was
 " not the case of a conspiracy by two or
 " three individuals—it was a combined ef-
 " fect of an immense number, who entered
 " the dwelling-houses, and compelled the
 " trembling inmates to take the terrible
 " oath which had been read. It was a
 " crime little short of treason, or an attempt
 " upon the sacred person of Majesty. It
 " was said by the last speaker, that this
 " was one of the frequent attempts of Go-
 " vernment to provide for an extremity by
 " an immediate enactment:—he (the Chan-
 " cellor of the Exchequer) might with
 " much greater truth assert, that the pre-
 " sent was only one of the frequent attempts
 " made by Gentlemen opposite to defeat
 " the measures of Government, the objects
 " of which were the security and salvation
 " of the State (*hear, hear, hear!*). Much
 " of what had been stated as to the system
 " of internal and external commerce, of
 " Government being the cause of the dis-
 " turbances, would have a most mischiev-
 " ous effect (*hear, hear!*). It was, be-
 " sides, an assertion that was perfectly un-
 " founded; for in those districts where the
 " disturbances were chiefly prevalent, the
 " most active leaders were known to be per-
 " sons who were not in want of any of the
 " means of life, but who employed the ge-
 " neral opinion of distress to their own ad-
 " vantage, to create and foment disturb-
 " ances for which there was little or no
 " cause (*hear, hear!*). The Right Ho-
 " nourable Gentleman then proceeded to
 " argue that the Bill would be effectual for
 " the purpose intended; and adduced as a
 " proof, the Act to prevent the Seduction
 " of Soldiers from His Majesty's Service,
 " which had proved highly beneficial. In
 " his view of the subject, the clause afford-
 " ing a shelter to the repentant criminal
 " was a useful and necessary provision,
 " and did not deserve the censure bestowed
 " upon it. He insisted, on the whole, that
 " the present Bill was no more than the
 " loyal subjects of the kingdom had a right
 " to demand."——It does, I must confess,

appear strange to me to hear it asserted
 thus boldly, that the disturbances have not
 arisen from the distresses of the people;
 but have been the work of persons *who are*
not in want. It is a notorious fact, that
 potatoes (things which are hardly fit to be the
 food of man) sell at the rate of *eight or nine*
shillings the Winchester bushel; that is to
 say, *three-pence a quart.* When a want
 of work is added to this dearth, how is it
 possible that the distress can be otherwise
 than dreadful! But, Mr. Perceval is here
 reported to have said, that persons not in
 distress have "*employed the general opinion*
of distress to their own advantage, to
 "create and foment disturbances." *Who*
 these persons are Mr. Perceval does not
 say; he does not even point them out by
 description; and yet he says they are *known*
 to be persons not in want. If they are
 known, they can, of course, be *named*;
 and, if too numerous to be named, they
 may easily be designated as to rank in life;
 and, what is more, they can, at once, be
 apprehended, by the aid of the great army
 now in the disturbed counties.—But,
 what can have been meant by "*employing*
the general opinion of distress?" Does
 the reader conceive, that it is likely, that
 there should exist "*a general opinion of*
distress" without there being *real* dis-
 tress? Opinion is *belief* in something,
 and what is to make the people of a whole
 country *believe* in the existence of distress
 that does not exist? What is to make a
 man conceit that he is hungry when his
 belly is full? This is quite a new idea in
 the Premier: this "*employing of an opi-*
nion of distress." And, truly, it is a
 curious compliment to the people of Eng-
 land to suppose that they are to be "*em-*
ployed" in this way. Employed in the
 work of insurrection, upon the ground of
 their being in want, while they are not in
 want, and only entertain the *opinion!*—
 However, if this be the case; if the people
 are employed in this way, who are their
 employers? This I have asked before,
 and have heard no answer. But, how
 comes it that any part, any considerable
 part, of the people should possess the *de-*
sire to produce insurrection? If it be, as
 Mr. Perceval has here asserted, to *men not*
in want that the riots are to be attributed;
 what can be the motives of those men?
 What can those men want? If, indeed,
 their proceedings could be traced to some
 Political Society, we should then stand in
 need of no explanation. But, those Societies
 have all been extirpated long ago. The

principal actors have all been destroyed or ruined. And, therefore, it is impossible to trace the present disturbances to such a cause. —Mr. Perceval, in several parts of his speech, spoke of the "LOYAL subjects of the king," as entitled to the protection which the proposed law would give them. We will, by-and-by, inquire what degree of protection that is likely to be; but, first, let us ask why this phrase should have been selected? For, does it follow, that all rioters are "disloyal" men? Oh! no. For there were, as Manchester well knows, the "*Church and King*" riots of 1792 and 1793; there were the "*no-papery*" riots of the year 1780. So that Mr. Perceval should not, it seems to me, have made use of a phrase, which would represent the term *rioters* as synonymous with that of *traitor*. This is, however, the fashion, and, I suppose, it will continue for some time. It, however, can do no good to those who make use of it. They over-shoot their mark thereby; and that they would find, I believe, if they could hear the remarks made in France and America upon the accusations that they choose to make. The truth is, that, so great is the desire to trace every sort of opposition to the system to a Jacobin source, that those who are actuated by that desire seem to overlook every thing else. And, they will certainly have the mortification to find, that, in the end, the world will be convinced that there exists no such source; or, at least, they will find, that there are no means of discovering such source. Mr. Perceval will, therefore, it seems to me, do well not to talk of the rioters as "disloyal" people. It can do them no possible harm. It is quite sufficient for them to be rioters. But, it may cause the Emperor of France to believe, that, what has arisen from his commercial regulations, has arisen from a radical dislike to our own government, or, at least, to the system of sway now in existence. —Mr. Perceval represents the proposed bill as "necessary to the security and *salvation* of the state." I have seen so many of these measures of "*salvation*," that I really begin to despair of their effect. But, in what does this measure of salvation consist? Why, simply in authorizing the Courts and Executioners to hang people for "*tendering or taking unlawful oaths*." Some time ago, an act was passed to authorize the hanging of people for frame-breaking, which offence was before punished with transportation. Since that act was passed, the violences have greatly increased, and

the new invention of binding to secrecy by dreadful oaths has, it seems, gone into operation. Now, then, the administering or taking of such oaths is to be punished with death. And thus has this capital offence grown out of the law for making frame-breaking a capital offence. —This always has been, now is, and always will be, the progress of severe laws. The passage, which I have taken for my motto, contains an expression of this opinion; and, Mr. Perceval (being a lawyer) must know whence it comes; he must know that it is not extracted from the Jacobin creed, but is copied, word for word, and letter for letter, from an *English act of Parliament*, of which, indeed, it is the preambulatory part. Very different, it would seem, are the notions of Mr. Perceval and Lord Castlereagh and their colleagues; very different would their notions appear to be from those expressed in this preamble; they seem to think that severe laws will be obeyed better than laws which are not severe; though, I am inclined to think, that, in the whole world, there never has been an experimental proof of the truth of that position. —Mr. Whitbread, in answer to Mr. Perceval, said, "that it was perfectly true, that if "the measures of Government had not "created they had augmented the distresses "of the inhabitants of the manufacturing "counties, and it was now proposed to punish them for crimes of which government had in a manner promoted the commission. One great objection to it in his mind was, that it resorted to the *ultimum supplicium* for a comparatively slight offence, unless Ministers intended to proceed by re-enacting the statutes of Henry VIII., which directed that for particular crimes the offenders should be *boiled*. "This conduct certainly would not be "without support, and that of modern date, and from high authority, since the "Chancellor for Ireland in the year 1798, "justified the infliction of torture. The "good that would result from this Bill "might be easily ascertained, from observing the very beneficial effects produced by "the Nottingham Bill. How many criminals had been either discovered or punished under it? Another principal reason which induced him to resist the progress of this Bill, was, that no distinction was made between the crime of "*taking an unlawful oath*" and the "*assassination of a man*: he should, therefore, "vote against this Bill, not from party spirit, but on public grounds." —I

perfectly agree with Mr. Whitbread upon this subject, and am fully persuaded, that the proposed Bill, if it pass into a law, will only tend to produce still greater evils than those already complained of; I am convinced, that it will not prevent the taking and tendering of oaths; that it will not lead to the detection of those who are engaged in the riots; but, that it will tend to make them more desperate, more secret, and more vindictive. These are my reasons for disliking this Bill, which, I hope, will never become a law.—As to the fact of any *combination* or *conspiracy* being in existence, I must confess, that I greatly doubt it. Mr. STEPHEN talked of 120,000 actually sworn into the combination; but, is it not wonderful, that there has been no *proof* produced of the swearing in of any *one* of these 120,000 men; and that the only proof of any oath having been *taken* is the copy of an oath, or, an oath in writing, having been found in the pocket of a *dead* man? If the man had been alive, indeed, and had had the fact proved upon him, and had been unable to give any satisfactory account of the paper in question, the case would have been very different; but, as it is, it is just possible, that some one may have written the paper and put it into the dead man's pocket; for, as we all know, dead men tell no tales and make no complaints.—Another story, still less probable, is, that the Luddites have actually begun to enlist men, in a very regular way. The story is pretended to come from Manchester, and is related as follows in the Morning Chronicle of the 4th of May: —“MANCHESTER, April 30, 1812. “We are all quiet here at present, but are “still anxious to see what may happen the “next two or three days, as the general “meeting of the *Luddites* is said to be “fixed for to-morrow, but the place we “have yet to learn. Be that as it may, “we are fully prepared, and so far I do “conceive there is not the least danger. “The Bolton Rioters' Committee, or rather “the Delegates, had planned a secret meet- “ing, at which some important matters “were to be discussed. The fact became “known to the officers and police, and it “was deemed prudent not to prevent it “from taking place. The consequence “was, that last night the whole assem- “blage, consisting of twenty-five men, “were taken by surprise, together with all “their correspondence. A man has also “been apprehended at Eccles, in attempt- “ing to seduce the Local Militia, by offer-

“ing *five guineas bounty* and *fifteen shil-
“lings per week* to all that would be
“*twisted in* (the term for swearing in).
“*Many of the delegates* are going round
“the country on the same service.—*QUERE,*
“*where does the money come from?*” —
This *Quere* is very pertinent indeed; but, why did the relater of the story not *answer* it? Now, mind, it is here stated, in plain and positive terms, that a man has been offering a bounty of *five guineas a man*, and pay of 15s. a week, to recruits; and that *many delegates* are going round the country on the same service. What! all this going on, and no *proof* to be produced? “*Many Delegates*” and these going “round “the country” enlisting men, and nobody able to bring us any *particle of proof* of such open rebellion! And, as the relater of the story asks so pertinently and sagaciously, “Where does the money come “from?” The very same question that my youngest son most pertinaciously pressed with regard to his youngest sister when she was born. The nurse told him, from the parsley-bed: “Aye,” said he, “but “where did she *come from?*” laying great stress upon the closing words; and meaning, that though he believed, of course, that she came last out of the parsley-bed, he wanted to know how she got into it. So, with regard to the recruiting officers of the Luddites, though the money, of course, now comes out of their pockets, *how did it get into their pockets?* The old custom must have been revived of men's selling their souls to the devil; or, if not, the whole of this story must be a lie, and that, too, for the diabolical purpose of exciting alarm in the country, and of reconciling men's minds to acts of great severity, at a time when patriotism and humanity loudly call for every means of *conciliation* that can be thought of.—Mr. Perceval observed in the early part of his speech above quoted, that a *Special Commission* was about to be dispatched to try the persons apprehended in the disturbed counties. With regard to the propriety, or impropriety, of this measure, I shall not pretend to decide. My opinion leans against it; because, I think, that if the trials were to take place at the assizes, in the *usual course*, there would be more time for the minds of men to cool; passion would be less likely to prevail; and justice, of course, more likely to be administered in mercy, agreeably to the King's coronation oath. My opinion may, however, in this particular, be wrong; but, of one thing I will not hesitate to speak posi-

tively, and that is, the manner in which the London prints have spoken of this commission is calculated to do infinite mischief. Some of them have appeared to *exult* in the hope of seeing what they expect will take place; and one of them seems to regret, nay he positively does express his regret, that the Judges are not young and stout enough "to go through the *fatigues* of such *arduous* duties;" and he wants a parliamentary inquiry to take place upon the subject. This writer is always calling out for *more vigour*; the ministers are never *vigorous enough* for him.—This want of feeling for the miseries of the people is very reprehensible; and, indeed, it is more likely than any thing else to increase the violence of that spirit which now appears to be on foot. The Times newspaper (certainly the most wicked in the country), which has, all along, been the leader in this work of mischief, which has uniformly discovered profound contempt for the people, which has missed no occasion of mocking at their sufferings and exulting at their punishment; the proprietor of this print has, on the 7th instant, published an article, in which he states, that the disturbances are the effect of a *combination*; that the means are chiefly supplied out of the *Benefit Societies*; that these Societies are now perverted to the end of forming combinations of journeymen against their masters; and that, therefore, these Societies ought to be put an end to, or limited in their means. Let us, however, take his own words: "We understand that those means are chiefly supplied by the funds known under the name of *Benefit Societies*. Those establishments, which were originally formed on the excellent principle of supporting the members in illness, or assisting their families in case of death, have been turned to the support of combinations among the workmen. When an *increase of wages* is refused, and the workmen in consequence withdraw themselves, the *Benefit Society* supports them until the masters are forced to submit to their terms; and if they are *indicted*, the *Benefit Society* pays their law expenses, sometimes rising to a great amount, and supports them in prison. The Legislature ought to turn its attention peculiarly to the remedy of this perversion of the original principle of such institutions; for unless some means can be found of limiting the funds by which combination is supported, the mischief must extend; and it cannot be

"necessary to mention the effect of this spirit on every thing which relates to the commerce of the country."—So, this man thinks it wrong, that a poor journeyman should have any one to furnish the means of getting him an attorney or counsel! And, if put into prison for wanting more wages for his labour (though the master rises his prices as often as he pleases) he is doubly criminal because his brethren assist in keeping him alive!—Pray, Sir, what laws would you pass, if you were our sole legislator? It really seems to me, that nothing would satisfy you short of making journeymen the downright slaves of their masters; the real bona fide slaves, driven with a whip, and fed as are the beasts of the field. Do not the prices of goods of all sorts continually rise? Have not your advertisements and paid-for paragraphs tripled in price within twenty years? Do you not now get a pound note for that space which you formerly sold for a crown? Can you deny this? Is it not as notorious as the rise in the price of other well-known articles at the west end of the town? Is it not "*as notorious as the sun at noon day*?" If this be true, then, upon what ground do you deny to the journeymen the right of demanding "*an increase of wages*;" upon what ground do you abuse them for so doing? You would have laws passed to disqualify them for making such demand; you would have laws passed, the effect of which should be to cause them to perish in jail for making such demand; but, mark the contrast; you propose no law to prevent yourself and other masters from raising their prices at their pleasure. I shall return to this subject, and cut you a little deeper before I have done with you; in the meanwhile, whatever your heart may be made of, whether of steel or stone, let me advise you to keep your thoughts to yourself, and not emit them in expressions so manifestly calculated to add fuel to the flame of discontent.—This same writer, in the former part of his article, blames the government for not having been sufficiently prompt and vigorous. This is a sort of blame for the bestowing of which he does not fear that he shall be prosecuted as a libeller. He seems free to bestow as much of this sort of blame as he likes. Thus it is to enjoy the "*Liberty of the Press*." But, what did he want the government to do? He has not told us that. He has not told us to what an extent he would have carried promptitude and vigour. Really, if our fathers were to rise

from the grave, they could not believe they were in England! This man, who has seen the soldiers employed in all the places where there have been any stir even of women and children about flour or potatoes; who has seen the country filled with soldiers; who has seen horse, foot, and artillery marched thither to the amount of 20,000 or 30,000 men; who has seen many persons killed by the soldiers and many more wounded; who has seen one law passed, making that crime punishable with death which was before punished with transportation; and who now sees another law passing for a purpose somewhat similar: this man, who has seen all this, blames the government for having shewn a *lingering* and *undecided* spirit; and calls aloud for more *prompt* and *vigorous* measures! Never does he say a word of conciliation; never does he suffer to escape from him a sigh of compassion for the poor creatures who have been urged into illegal acts by their distresses and a misconception of the true causes thereof; he uniformly treats them as creatures scarcely human, and seems to think no more of their destruction than if they were so many wolves or bears. He, like too many others, seems to listen to nothing but his anger against the rioters; seems deaf to every thing but his vindictiveness; *punish! punish! punish! punish!* This you find to be continually his cry; as, indeed, it always is of all men who have not the wisdom to govern by any thing but *fear*.—If nothing else could teach this writer, and other persons like him, how wrong it is to hold language such as he and they have held, one would think, that experience, the experience even now before their eyes, might have had that effect. The state into which the country has been thrown *by these outrageous insults on the people*, is such as can no longer be disguised; and which is, in my opinion, more clearly characterized in the following official document, than in any other act of the government:—“The following circular has been addressed to the Commanding Officers of the Local Militia:—(CIRCULAR.)—“*Whitehall, 17th April.*—Sir—There being reason to apprehend, from the various disturbances which have taken place in some of our manufacturing districts, that attempts may be made by evil disposed persons to seize or destroy the arms belonging to the Local Militia, I am directed by Mr. Secretary Ryder to impress upon you the necessity of adopting

“the most effectual means for the defence of your Depot, in case any such attempt should be made, and to point out to you the propriety of having the permanent Staff of your Regiment, under the command of the Adjutant, in such a state of constant efficiency, as to be immediately available for its defence.—I am at the same time to observe to you, that the Lieutenancy of the County are by law obliged to furnish a fit and proper place for the Depot; and in case the building now appropriated to that purpose should not appear to afford, in its present state, adequate means of resistance, Mr. Ryder has to desire that you will either make immediate application to the Lieutenancy for providing some place of greater strength, or will adopt some practical mode of guarding your present Depot, and of diminishing the possibility of its forcible entry, in order that those who may be lodged in it, may be enabled to repel any sudden attack, until effectual military assistance (which means have been taken to provide at the shortest notice) can be brought to their relief.”

—This document speaks volumes. Whole volumes it speaks. It proclaims our situation to the whole world. Well, now, this is at the end of twenty years' war against “jacobin principles!”—What! Are there, then, attempts expected to seize the arms of the local militia; and is it necessary to provide for the defence of those arms! The defence of arms! What an idea! But, why be in trouble about a place of strength for these arms? A place of strength! Why, would not the arms be best defended by the Local militia themselves? This really does astound one. The Commanders of this militia are requested to put the arms into a place of strength, so that any sudden attack may be repelled, “until effectual military aid can be brought to their relief.” And we are told, that means have been taken “to provide such aid at the shortest notice.” How strange does all this seem to me! Calling in military aid to defend the arms of the Local Militia, who are, of course, residing at no very great distance from the spot! And, is it really true, that this militia cannot defend their own arms?—It is useless to comment. There is no man with brains sufficient to enable him to distinguish daylight from darkness who will not clearly understand the meaning of this document.—The following two articles, which I take from the Courier of the 11th

of May, will show what is going on with respect of arms in Yorkshire.

"LEEDS, MAY 9.—OUTRAGE.—Last night the family of Colonel Campbell, the *Commanding Officer of the Leeds district*, was thrown into very serious alarm: between 10 and 11 o'clock, two men, whose voices were distinctly heard, placed themselves in a plantation in the rear of the Col.'s house, at Woodhouse, about a mile from Leeds, and discharged two muskets in the direction of the *Guard-Room*, just at the moment when two Hussars were entering the court, but the trees intercepting the shots, neither of them took effect. The *sentinels* immediately went in pursuit of the offenders, but they escaped under the cover of night. In the absence of the *guard*, and just at the moment when the Colonel's son, accompanied by a soldier, was turning the south-east corner of the house, four or five men were observed to collect in front, and one of them discharged another musket, but like the former the shot passed without doing any mischief. Soon after the firing, the Colonel, who had been from home on his military duties, drove into the court, and having taken the necessary precaution to *strengthen the guard*, the night passed without further molestation."

"HUDDERSFIELD, MAY 7.—MR. EDITOR,—I am sorry to inform you the Luddites have been very active in *collecting arms* this last week, and have been *too successful*. They proceeded to people's houses, in the townships of Almondbury, Wooldale, Farnley, Netherthong, Meltham, Honley, and Marsden, and many other places in this neighbourhood; they entered the houses by about 20 or 30 in a gang, and *demanded all the arms* in the house, on pain of instant death. By this means they have obtained *possession of upwards of 100 stand of arms* since my last letter to you, and not one night has passed without some arms having been so taken. In order to check this alarming evil, Major Gordon has *obtained possession of 200 stand of arms from the inhabitants in this neighbourhood; the military are in this manner daily employed in collecting arms, but they have not been fortunate enough to discover the depot of the Luddites.*"

At this success of the military in *taking arms from the people*, some of the London prints express great *exultation!* But,

reader, are these scenes to excite exultation in the breasts of Englishmen? This is neither more nor less than a *disarming of the people*, if the account be true; and, what does that act proclaim to the world? Answer me this question, you venal men, before you again give way to your exultations.—Since the commencement of the war against the republicans of France, MAJOR CARTWRIGHT wrote and published a book, called "*ENGLAND'S ÆGIS.*" Every cabinet minister who has been in place for the last 10 years, and every member of the Royal Family, has, I believe, had a copy of this book from the hands of the venerable and patriotic author. In that work is laid down the principles of *national defence*, internal as well as external. This work will, perhaps, at last be attended to; for, I think, it will not require much more experience to convince any rational man, that the safety of the country does now absolutely demand something other than what we now see. If the plan of Major Cartwright, or, rather, the plan of the *English Constitution*, for he only proposes to do what was actually done by our ancestors in this respect; if this plan were put in execution, we should never hear of a riot again of any consequence; for, I maintain, that such a riot would be *impossible*. If that plan were once adopted, we should hear no more of the necessity of guarding the arms of the Local Militia; nor should we hear any more of those acts of violence, which have, of late, created such serious alarm. It is now manifest, that unless *the people are armed for their own defence*, agreeably to the ancient laws and customs of the country, there will soon be no safety for any man; for, after all, what is an army as the means of internal defence? I read, that, in one of the disturbed counties, many persons have been called out under the old law of *Watch and Ward*. To be sure! This is the right way of going to work; it is calling upon the people *to defend themselves*. To talk, as Mr. Perceval did in the debate noticed in my last, about sending troops to the protection of the "*loyal subjects of His Majesty*" is to discover, in my opinion, more anger than reflection; for, what does it amount to but this: that the "*loyal subjects*" are the *least numerous*, seeing that they stand in need of troops to defend them against their neighbours; for, when all is said and done, the rioters are their neighbours.—I shall conclude, as I have done in all my articles

upon this melancholy subject, by recommending conciliatory measures; but, really, it appears to me, that conciliation is at an end, if these pestiferous news-papers, such as the Times and the Courier, are resolved to persevere in their contemptuous language and their false accusations against the whole class of journeymen and poor manufacturers. These prints are the real incendiaries; these are the stirrers-up of sedition. Their object appears to be to goad the people on to deeds of desperation, so as to cut them off from all hope of retreat to peaceable behaviour. Such prints, pretending to take the side of the master manufacturers, are supposed to speak their sentiments; and thus they mainly contribute towards the feeding of all those hostile passions, which are now spreading ruin and consternation through the most valuable part of our country.

BADAJOZ.—The capture of this town of Spain is an event of some importance in the war. The details are stated in the Official Account, which I shall insert in another part of this sheet.—The French garrison is stated to have consisted of 5,000 men, about 1,200 of whom are said to have been killed or dangerously wounded. The rest, as will be seen, were taken prisoners.—Our loss appears by the official returns, to have been as follows.

Killed	Commissioned Officers	60	
	Sergeants	45	
	Rank and File	715	
			820
Wounded	Commissioned Officers	251	
	Sergeants	178	
	Drummers	14	
	Rank and File	2564	
			3007
Missing	Sergeants	1	
	Rank and File	32	
			33
			3860

This was the loss in British Troops, to which are to be added about 1,000 of all ranks, in killed and wounded, of Portuguese.—There is one thing, which, amidst all this dreadful carnage, an Englishman observes with satisfaction, and that is, to use the words of Sir Francis Burdett in his proposed address to the Prince Regent, “our countrymen maintain the character of their ancestors.” Great *bravery* appears to have been displayed upon this occasion; and, it is no small honour to the

officers of the army to see such a vast over proportion of them amongst the killed and wounded. This is a clear proof that there was no skulking on their part, and that they did, as it became them, set an example to their men.—When this is said, however, all is said in favour of this capture, which will not, in my opinion, at all advance the cause of the allies, while the expense of the capture will have been enormous.—That it is the settled purpose of Napoleon to prolong the war in the Peninsula; or, at least, to reserve that as the last point whence to eject us, is, I think, now too clear to admit of dispute. If such were not his purpose, it is not possible to reconcile to reason his sending of two or three hundred thousand men, at this time, to the North of Germany, *where there is no attack meditated against him*. If he wished to drive us out of Portugal, why not send a hundred thousand of those men, who are now marching towards the confines of Russia? It is true, that, without marching his army to the north, he cannot completely enforce the “Continental System;” but, if he had been as anxious as some people suppose him to be about getting our army out of Spain and Portugal, he would have spared 50 or 100,000 men for that purpose first, and would have marched to the shores of the Baltic afterwards.—Besides, who knows, that he does not mean to offer us, in his terms of peace, to leave *Portugal* in our hands, for the benefit of the Prince Regent of that country? This is a proposition which would stagger the Ministers. They would not know very well what to do with it. But, it will be time enough to talk of this when the time comes. At present other things press.

AMERICAN STATES.—Three months ago, I told the readers of the Register, that we should hear of a declaration of war, on the part of the United States, *by the 15th of May*. I was within two days of the precise day; for, we may look upon war as having been almost begun in the seizure of Amelia Island; at least, so it appears to me at present. The *embargo* that has been laid is another measure indicative of actual hostilities; for, though the Times newspaper (a cheater of its dupes of readers to the last) says, that the embargo is *as much against France as against us*, the obvious object of it is to prevent intelligence from escaping hither, and also to prevent ships and cargoes from falling into our hands. The embargo is for 90 days, a time suffi-

cient for ensuring the return of all the American ships now in our ports, or in ports under our control, or bound to any such ports. These are the manifest objects of the embargo; and, long before the 90 days are up, I dare say, that real acts of hostility will have taken place. Here, then, we shall have another of the effects of that system of policy which has been pursued for the last 20 years! The war would, I think, have taken place without the aid of CAPT. HENRY'S disclosure; but that disclosure has completely finished what was before left undone. It has decided the doubting; it has for ever closed the lips of all the partisans of England. I shall hereafter analyse the whole of the correspondence between Capt. Henry and his employers, which is not only very curious but very important; and, it should by no means be forgotten, seeing that it will be to be fairly reckoned amongst the causes of that new war, into which we are now about to enter. This mission of Capt. Henry and its authors will hereafter be to be considered by us. We are too apt to forget. When the consequences of a measure come upon us *at a distance*, we forget the measure and its authors. In this case, however, I hope we shall forget neither.—I do not suppose, that, even *now* it will be believed, that the United States will go to war with us. I have often explained to my readers, why they would be as well off (even in a commercial sense) in war as in peace upon the present footing; but, still, people do not believe that they will go to war. The reason that people do not believe it is, that they do not clearly perceive how the American commerce stands as things now are. The Americans do not like *Taxes* and a *Standing Army*, and it will grieve the heart of every lover of freedom to see them compelled to have either; but, as I have said before, they cannot assist in the work going on in South America without troops. The Republics of the Caraccas and of Venezeula appear to be established, and to have entered into treaties with the United States. It will be impossible to prevent Mexico from following the fate of the Caraccas; and, in this case, it will be absolutely necessary for the United States to have an army, whether they have open war with England or not.

ASSASSINATION OF MR. SPENCER PERCEVAL.—I have no room left for any remarks upon this subject in my present Number, for which I am rather sorry; be-

cause, though it is a matter of inferior importance to those on which I have written above, it is one upon which I could have wished to say something, especially seeing what the *COURIER* has stated about the conduct of the *people*, who surrounded the House at the time that Bellingham was about to be removed. Indeed, there are a multitude of interesting particulars connected with the act; but I am compelled to postpone further notice of them till my next.

WM. COBBETT.

*State Prison, Newgate,
Friday, 15th May, 1812.*

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRANCE.—*Reports laid before the Conservative Senate on the 10th of March, 1812.—(Continued from page 608.)*

deplored the inevitable disorders of forced and truly painful marches,—of dispositions which time did not permit properly to digest,—of sacrifices almost inevitable,—of losses in men, ammunition and money.—If you call to your recollection the circumstance so honourable for several departments of the empire, when British pride split upon the banks of the Scheldt, can you suppose, that if at that epoch, at which you expressed in so solemn a manner the devotion of the French people towards the Emperor, the institution which France is going to receive from its tutelary genius, had been established, England would have dared to conceive the hope of the most trifling success!—Your commission has, therefore, the honour of unanimously proposing the adoption of the *Senatus Consultum*, which has been presented to you." The *Senatus Consultum* was adopted with the utmost unanimity.

SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF BADAJOZ.—*London Gazette, published 24th April, 1812.—Extract of a Dispatch from the Earl of Wellington, dated Camp before Badajoz, April 3, 1812.*

We opened our fire on the 31st of March from twenty-six pieces of cannon, in the second parallel, to breach the face of the bastion at the south-east angle of the fort called La Trinidad; and the flank of the bastion by which the face is defended called Santa Maria. The fire upon these has continued since with great effect.—The

enemy made a sortie upon the night of the 29th upon the troops of General Hamilton's division, which invest the place on the right of the Guadiana, but were immediately driven in with loss. We lost no men on this occasion.—The movements of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham and of Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill have obliged the enemy to retire by the different roads towards Cordova, with the exception of a small body of infantry and cavalry, which remained at Zalamea de la Serena, in front of Belalcazar.—Marshal Soult broke up in front of Cadiz on the 23d and 24th, and has marched upon Seville with all the troops that were there, with the exception of four thousand men.—I understand that he was to march from Seville again on the 30th or 31st.—I have not heard from Castile since the 30th ultimo. One division of the army of Portugal, which had been in the province of Avilla, had on that day arrived at Guadapero, within two leagues of Ciudad Rodrigo; and it was supposed that Marshal Marmont was on his march with other troops from the side of Salamanca.—The river Agueda was not fordable for troops on the 30th.

Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Wellington, dated Camp before Badajoz, April 7, 1812.

My Lord—My dispatch of the 3d instant will have apprized your Lordship of the state of the operations against Badajoz to that date, which were brought to a close on the night of the 6th, by the capture of the place by storm.—The fire continued during the 4th and 5th against the face of the bastion of La Trinidad, and the flank of the bastion of Santa Maria; and on the 4th, in the morning, we opened another battery of six guns, in the second parallel, against the shoulder of the ravelin of St. Roque, and the wall in its gorge.—Practicable breaches were effected in the bastions above mentioned, in the evening of the 5th; but as I had observed, that the enemy had entrenched the bastion of La Trinidad, and the most formidable preparations were making for the defence as well of the breach in that bastion, as of that in the bastion of Santa Maria, I determined to delay the attack for another day, and to turn all the guns in the batteries in the second parallel on the curtain of La Trinidad, in hopes that by effecting a third breach, the troops would be enabled to turn the enemy's works for the defence of the other

two, the attack of which would besides be connected by the troops destined to attack the breach in the curtain.—This breach was effected in the evening of the 6th, and the fire of the face of the bastion of Santa Maria and of the flank of the bastion of La Trinidad being overcome, I determined to attack the place that night.—I had kept in reserve, in the neighbourhood of this camp, the 5th division, under Lieutenant-General Leith, which had left Castile only in the middle of March, and had but lately arrived in this part of the country, and I brought them up on that evening.—The plan for the attack was, that Lieutenant-General Picton should attack the castle of Badajoz by escalade with the 3d division; and a detachment from the guard in the trenches, furnished that evening by the 4th division, under Major Wilson, of the 48th regiment, should attack the ravelin of St. Roque upon his left; while the 4th division, under the Honourable Major-General Colville, and the light division, under Lieut.-Colonel Barnard, should attack the breaches in the bastions of La Trinidad and of Santa Maria, and in the curtain by which they are connected. The 5th division were to occupy the ground which the 4th and light divisions had occupied during the siege, and Lieutenant-General Leith was to make a false attack upon the out-work called Pardeleras, and another on the works of the fort towards the Guadiana, with the left brigade of the division, under Major-General Walker, which he was to turn into a real attack, if circumstances should prove favourable; and Brigadier-General Power, who invested the place with his Portuguese brigade on the right of the Guadiana, was directed to make false attacks on the tetedu-pont, the fort St. Christoval, and the new redoubt called Mon-cœur.—The attack was accordingly made at ten at night: Lieutenant-General Picton preceding, by a few minutes, the attack by the remainder of the troops.—Major-General Kempt led this attack, which went out from the right of the first parallel; he was unfortunately wounded in crossing the river Rivellas below the inundation; but notwithstanding this circumstance, and the obstinate resistance of the enemy, the castle was carried by escalade, and the 3d division established in it at about half-past eleven.—While this was going on, Major Wilson, of the 48th regiment, carried the ravelin of St. Roque, by the gorge, with a detachment of two hundred men of

the guard in the trenches, and, with the assistance of Major Squire of the engineers, established himself within that work.—The 4th and light divisions moved to the attack from the camp along the left of the river Rivellas, and of the inundations. They were not perceived by the enemy till they reached the covered way, and the advanced guards of the two divisions descended, without difficulty, into the ditch, protected by the fire of the parties stationed on the glacis for that purpose; and they advanced to the assault of the breaches, led by their gallant officers, with the utmost intrepidity; but such was the nature of the obstacles prepared by the enemy at the top and behind the breaches, and so determined their resistance, that our troops could not establish themselves within the place. Many brave officers and soldiers were killed or wounded by explosions at the top of the breaches; others who succeeded to them were obliged to give way, having found it impossible to penetrate the obstacles which the enemy had prepared to impede their progress. These attempts were repeated till after 12 at night, when, finding that success was not to be attained, and that Lieutenant-General Picton was established in the castle, I ordered that the 4th and light divisions might retire to the ground on which they had first assembled for the attack.—In the mean time Major-General Leith had pushed forward Major-General Walker's brigade on the left, supported by the 38th regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Nugent, and the 15th Portuguese regiment under Lieut.-Colonel De Regoa; and he had made a false attack upon the Pardeleras with the 8th Caçadores under Major Hill. Major-General Walker forced the barrier on the road of Olivenga, and entered the covered way on the left of the bastion of St. Vicente, close to the Guadiana. He there descended into the ditch, and escalated the face of the bastion of St. Vicente.—Lieutenant-General Leith supported this attack by the 38th regiment and the 15th Portuguese regiment; and our troops being thus established in the castle, which commands all the works of the town, and in the town; and the 4th and light divisions being formed again for the attack of the breaches, all resistance ceased; and at day-light in the morning, the Governor, General Philipon, who had retired to fort St. Christoval, surrendered, together with General Veilande, and all the staff and the whole garrison.—I have not got accu-

rate reports of the strength of the garrison, or of the number of the prisoners; but General Philipon has informed me, that it consisted of five thousand men at the commencement of the siege, of which twelve hundred were killed or wounded during the operations, besides those lost in the assault of the place. There were five French battalions, besides two of the regiment of Hesse D'Armstadt, and the artillery, engineers, &c.; and I understand there are four thousand prisoners.—It is impossible that any expressions of mine can convey to your Lordship the sense which I entertain of the gallantry of the officers and troops upon this occasion.—The list of killed and wounded will shew that the General Officers, the Staff attached to them, the commanding, and other officers of regiments, put themselves at the head of the attacks which they severally directed, and set the example of gallantry which was so well followed by their men.—Marshal Sir William Beresford assisted me in conducting the details of this siege, and I am much indebted to him for the cordial assistance which I received from him, as well during its progress, as in the last operation, which brought it to a termination.—The duties in the trenches were conducted successively by the Honourable Major-General Colville, Major-General Bowes, and Major-General Kempt, under the superintendence of Lieutenant-General Picton. I have had occasion to mention all these officers during the course of the operations, and they all distinguished themselves, and were all wounded in the assault. I am particularly obliged to Lieutenant-General Picton, for the manner in which he arranged the attack of the castle, and for that in which he supported the attack, and established his troops in that important post.—Lieutenant-General Leith's arrangements for the false attack upon the Pardeleras, and that under Major-General Walker, were likewise most judicious; and he availed himself of the circumstance of the moment, to push forward and support the attack under Major-General Walker, in a manner highly creditable to him. The gallantry and conduct of Major-General Walker, who was also wounded, and that of the officers and troops under his command, were highly conspicuous.—The arrangements made by Major-General Colville for the attack by the 4th division, were very judicious, and he led them to the attack in the most gallant manner.—In consequence of the

absence, on account of sickness, of Major-General Vandeleur and Colonel Beckwith, Lieutenant-Colonel Barnard commanded the light division in the assault, and distinguished himself, not less by the manner in which he made the arrangements for that operation, than by his personal gallantry in its execution.—I have also to mention Major-General Harvey, of the Portuguese service, commanding a brigade in the 4th division, and Brigadier-General Champlemond, commanding the Portuguese brigade in the 3d division, as highly distinguished; Brigadier-General Harvey was wounded in the storm.—Your Lordship will see, in the list of killed and wounded, a list of the commanding officers of regiments. In Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod, of the 43d regiment, who was killed in the breach, His Majesty has sustained the loss of an officer who was an ornament to his profession, and was capable of rendering the most important services to his country. I must likewise mention Lieutenant-Colonel Gibbs of the 52d regiment, who was wounded, and Major O'Hare of the 95th, unfortunately killed in the breach; Lieutenant-Colonel Elder of the 3d, and Major Algeo of the 1st Caçadores; Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, of the 40th, likewise wounded, was highly distinguished, and Lieutenant-Colonel Blakeney of the royal fusileers, Knight of the 27th, Erskine of the 48th, and Captain Leaky, who commanded the 23d regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Ellis having been wounded during the previous operations of the siege.—In the 5th division I must mention Major Hill, of the 8th Caçadores, who directed the false attack upon the fort Pardeleras. It was impossible for any men to behave better than these did. I must likewise mention Lieutenant-Colonel Brook of the 4th regiment, the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Carlton of the 44th, and Lieutenant-Colonel Grey of the 30th, who was unfortunately killed. The 2d battalion of the 38th under Lieutenant-Colonel Nugent, and the 15th Portuguese regiment under Colonel De Regoa, likewise performed their part in a very exemplary manner.—The officers and troops in the 3d division have distinguished themselves as usual in these operations. Lieutenant-General Picton has reported to me particularly the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Williams of the 60th, Lieutenant-Colonel Ridge of the 5th, who was unfortunately killed in the assault of the castle, Lieute-

nant-Colonel Forbes of the 45th regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzgerald of the 60th, Lieutenant-Colonels Trench and Manners of the 74th regiment, Major Carr of the 83d, and the Honourable Major Pakenham, Assistant Adjutant General to the 3d division.—He has likewise particularly reported the good conduct of Colonel Campbell of the 94th, commanding the Honourable Major-General Colville's brigade during his absence in command of the 4th division, whose conduct I have so frequently had occasion to report to your Lordship. The officers and men of the corps of engineers and artillery were equally distinguished during the operations of the siege, and in its close. Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher continued to direct the works (notwithstanding that he was wounded in the sortie made by the enemy on the 19th March,) which were carried on by Major Squire and Major Burgoyne, under his directions. The former established the detachments under Major Wilson in the ravelin of St. Roque on the night of the storm; the latter attended the attack of the 3d division on the castle. I have likewise to report the good conduct of Major Jones, Captain Nicholas and Captain Williams of the royal engineers.—Major Dickson conducted the details of the artillery service during this siege as well as upon former occasions, under the general superintendence of Lieutenant-Colonel Framingham, who since the absence of Major-General Borthwick, has commanded the artillery with this army. I cannot sufficiently applaud the officers and soldiers of the British and Portuguese artillery during this siege, particularly Lieutenant-Colonel Robe, who opened the breaching batteries, Majors May and Halcombe, Captain Gardiner and Lieutenant Bouchier, of the royal artillery; Capt. de Rettberg, of the King's German artillery; and Major Tulloh, of the Portuguese.—Adverting to the extent of the details of the ordnance department during this siege, to the difficulty of weather, &c. with which Major Dickson had to contend, I must mention him most particularly to your Lordship.—The officers of the Adjutant and Quarter-Master General's departments rendered me every assistance on this occasion, as well as those of my personal staff; and I have to add, that I have received reports from the general officers commanding divisions, of the assistance they received from the officers of those departments attached to them, the greatest number of whom and of their per-

sonal staff are wounded.—In a former dispatch I reported to your Lordship the difficulties with which I had to contend, in consequence of the failure of the civil authorities of the province of Alentejo to perform their duty, and supply the army with means of transport; these difficulties have continued to exist; but I must do General Victoria, the Governor of Elvas, the justice to report, that he, and the troops under his command, have made every exertion, and have done every thing in their power to contribute to our success.—Marshal Soult left Seville on the 1st instant, with all the troops which he could collect in Andalusia; and he was in communication with the troops which had retired from Estremadura, under General Drouet, on the 3d, and he arrived at Llerena on the 4th. I had intended to collect the army in proportion as Marshal Soult should advance; and I requested Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham to retire gradually, while Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill should do the same from Don Benito and the upper parts of the Guadiana.—I do not think it certain that Marshal Soult has made any decided movement from Llerena since the 4th, although he has patrolled forward with small detachments of cavalry, and the advanced guard of his infantry have been at Usagre.—None of the Army of Portugal have moved to join him.—According to the last reports which I have received to the 4th instant on the frontiers of Castile, it appears that Marshal Marmont had established a body of troops between the Agueda and the Coa, and he had reconnoitred Almeida on the 3d. Brigadier-General Trant's division of Militia had arrived on the Coa, and Brigadier-General Wilson's division was following with the cavalry, and Lieutenant-General the Conde D'Amarante was on his march, with a part of the corps under his command, towards the Douro.—I have the honour to enclose returns of the killed and wounded from the 31st of March, and in the assault of Badajoz, and a return of the ordnance, small arms, and ammunition found in the place: I will send returns of the provisions in the place by the next dispatch.—This dispatch will be delivered to your Lordship by my Aide-de-Camp, Captain Canning; whom I beg leave to recommend to your protection. He has likewise the colours of the garrison and the colours of the Hesse D'Armstadt's regiment, to be laid at the feet of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.—The French battalions in the garrison had no eagles.

(Signed) WELLINGTON,

BUONAPARTE'S HOSTILITY.

Observations on the Speech of Mr. Brougham, on the Subject of the Orders in Council.

Sir,—In Mr. Brougham's speech in the House of Commons on the Orders in Council, I find that, among other topics, he insists much on the inveterate and rooted hatred and hostility of Buonaparte to Britain; of his insatiable desire for her destruction; and also of his hostility to trade, as a fixed and unalterable principle of his whole policy. Assertion, Mr. Cobbett, is not argument, and for my part I see in every thing we say and do, fully as strong proofs of hatred; deep rooted, inveterate, hatred on our part as on that of our enemy. If I am called on for these proofs I would appeal to the invectives with which we continually load the character of the French emperor; to the spirit of passion and revenge which we discover when we speak of him; the odious constructions which we put upon every point of his conduct; the eagerness with which every tale of calumny against him is listened to by the people of this country, and believed without the ceremony of proofs; finally, I would appeal to Mr. Brougham's speech, which breathes a spirit of deep hostility; for, you will remark, that he begins by painting Buonaparte in the most black and odious colours, as an agreeable introduction to his subject; thus clearly illustrating the temper both of the speaker and of the audience. If we look to the prevailing sentiments in this country on other points we shall see equally strong proofs of hostility. For example, even when we thought of peace did we ever lay aside our plans of hostility? Did not we consider peace as a sort of *breathing time for a new war*? and for this purpose was it not openly recommended to cultivate the amity of the continental powers, that, at some future period, we might kindle up a formidable coalition against France, and destroy her power—or, at least, reduce her to trust to our mercy for her existence as an independent state. If you doubt my authority, look into the *Edinburgh Review*, where you will find these sentiments explicitly set forth, at the very time when peace was strongly enforced as necessary for the relief of the country. The ministerial party were of course more violent and decided in their hostility. Now, Sir, I appeal to you, whether it does not argue a most fatal and blind partiality to our own cause to abuse Bonaparte when he offers peace, as seeking only thereby a better

cover for his hostility, when peace in this country is openly justified on the ground of its affording the best means of uniting a host of foes against France. That Buonaparté is at present hostile, is evident; but I see no reason to doubt that his hostility would be appeased by conciliation on our part; and that, if we would lay aside our hostile dispositions, he would meet us half way. Has he not indeed already offered most fair and honourable terms of peace? Read the negotiation with Lord Lauderdale, and judge yourself if France did not manifest at that time a sincere disposition for peace. What a glorious game had the Grenville ministry before them, at that time, and how miserably did they throw it out of their hands! they rejected the offers of France, and about a month afterwards poor Lord Howick was penning homilies upon adversity for the comfort of Prussia, our magnanimous ally. Verily some men are not born to govern the world. —There is another most singular assertion made by Mr. Brougham, namely, that Buonaparté desires the extinction of trade; and that all his measures are framed expressly for its destruction. Is this assertion made for the purpose of flattering popular prejudices, and of procuring a little temporary eclat? Does not Mr. Brougham know, that the great object of Buonaparté is to enforce the maxim, that *free ships make free goods*? According to which maxim, no nation at war can plunder any ship except that of an enemy. This is what is called *the freedom of the seas*, and this restriction of the rights of war would undoubtedly confer on trade a great degree of additional freedom and security. If a nation at war were not allowed to touch the cargo of a neutral vessel, the commerce of mankind would surely be less liable to interruption than where this right is still left to the belligerent. If Buonaparté then contends for the extinction of privileges hostile to trade, and if this country contends for their preservation as an instrument of vengeance *against the trade* of her enemies, on what grounds can it be said that our policy favours trade, and that the policy of France aims at its destruction? France contends for extending the privileges of trade and for narrowing the privileges of war. Britain contends for extending the privileges of war and narrowing the privileges of trade, and in the very teeth of this fact, Mr. Brougham gravely tells us that Buonaparté is for ruining trade, and that we are for pre-

serving it. That Buonaparté persecutes *our* trade is very true. But do we not persecute the trade of France? Nay, more, for what is it that in the year 1800 we quarrelled with the northern powers?—for what is it that we are quarrelling with America? for what is it that we have filled the world with blood and violence but for the very privilege of persecuting our enemy's trade, and persecuting it at the expense of the neutral power; and shall we complain that Buonaparté persecutes *our* trade? He tells us "I will allow trade, where it is carried on in neutral shipping to go free—but I will not allow you to cut and carve upon it at your pleasure—you shall either have a free trade, or you shall have no trade at all. If you make use of your navy to persecute my trade, I will make use of my army to persecute your trade, which I do, however, on the principle of retaliation; not because I wish trade to be persecuted, but because I wish to convince you that this contest being equally prejudicial to both parties ought to be given up." Such are the views of Buonaparté, and I should be glad if Mr. Brougham, in place of railing at him, would condescend to try them by the test of reason and policy.—I am yours, G. G.

Edinburgh, 20th March, 1812.

SICILY.—*Official account of the Retirement of the King.*

The King our Lord, by a resolution, dated this day, signed by his Majesty, and sealed with the Royal seal, has constituted his Royal Highness Don Francis, hereditary Prince of the Two Sicilies, his most dear Son, his Vicar-general in this kingdom of Sicily; transferring to him, with the most ample title of *Aller Ego*, the exercise of all rights, prerogatives, pre-eminencies, and powers, in the same manner as they could be exercised by his Majesty in person. In the name of the King, I communicate to your Excellency this sovereign determination; transmitting to you also a copy of the same, that you may forthwith communicate it to all the departments depending on the office of Secretary of State, the Royal Household, the Treasury, and Commerce, which are committed to the charge of your Excellency.

(Signed) Marquis de CIRCELLO.

To the Marquis Tommasi,
Palermo, Jan. 16, 1812.

ROYAL LETTER.

FERDINAND, by the Grace of God, King of the Two Sicilies, Jerusalem, &c. Infante of Spain, Duke of Parma, Placencia, Castro, &c. Grand Hereditary Prince of Tuscany, &c.

My most esteemed Son FRANCIS, Hereditary Prince of the Two Sicilies.

Being obliged, through bodily indisposition, and from the advice of the Physicians, to breathe the air of the country, to withdraw myself from all serious application, I should esteem myself culpable before God, if I did not make such provision for the government of the kingdom, in these most difficult times, that affairs of the greatest importance should be promptly dispatched, and the public weal suffer no detriment through my infirmities. Wishing, therefore, to disburthen myself of the weight of government, as long as it shall not please God to restore me to a state of health suitable for conducting it, I cannot more properly intrust it to any other than to you, my beloved son, as well because you are my legitimate successor, as on account of the experience which I have had of your high rectitude and capacity; and by these presents, with my free will and consent, I constitute and appoint you my Vicar-general in this my kingdom of Sicily, in the same way as you have been already twice Vicar-general in my other kingdom of Naples; and I yield and transfer to you, with the ample title of *Alter Ego*, the exercise of all the rights, prerogatives, pre-eminencies, and powers, which could be exercised by myself: and that this my determination may be known to all, and obeyed by all, I order that this my letter, signed by myself, and sealed with my Royal seal, be preserved in the archives of the kingdom, and that you direct a copy of it to be sent to all Councillors and Secretaries of State for their informations, and that they may communicate the same to all persons interested. —Given in Palermo, this 16th day of Jan. 1812.

FERDINAND,
THOMAZ DE SOMMA.

HIGH TREASON TRIALS.

I have never yet noticed the Trials, which have lately taken place for *high treason*; and, I do it now, lest the subject should pass by, and no trace of it be found in my Register, for which I should be sorry. —The act of treason was adhering to the

king's enemies; and the History of it was this. When, in the year 1810, the Isle of France was taken by us, there were found a considerable number of our countrymen in the service of Napoleon. These men, it appeared, had been taken prisoners in our ships of war, which had gone against that island some time before; and, after being made prisoners, had voluntarily entered into the service of the Emperor of France.

—When, therefore, the Island was subsequently captured by us, these men were seized as *traitors*; were brought to England; and, in the month of February, 1812, were tried by Special Commission, at the Sessions House in Horse-Monger Lane.—It was stated, that there were *fifty-nine* of them in all; but only *twelve* were indicted. Of these one was acquitted, seven convicted, and the other four suffered to escape, no evidence being produced against them.—The 9th man's name was *Josiah Teaster*; and when he was put to the bar the curious scene took place, which is recorded in the following report, taken from the *Courier* newspaper.—I would have the reader pay attention to it; for such a scene I believe was never beheld before.—I shall say no more. It is impossible that there can be two opinions upon any part of the transaction.—THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (*Gibbs*, mind) addressed the Jury nearly as follows:—

“Gentlemen of the Jury—The object of Government in the institution of these prosecutions was to convey to the public, and to those persons who are the objects of them, a conviction that those engaged in the service of their country, either in the army or navy, cannot be guilty of crimes like those the prisoners have been guilty of, without being ultimately brought to punishment. The prisoners mentioned in the Calendar were *selected from many more*; those who selected them had not the power or opportunity of inquiring so fully into their cases as I have since done; I have spared no pains, no trouble, nor attention, in investigating the facts alleged against the prisoners, and the evidence which would be produced in support of those facts; the result of that investigation was a conviction, that the ends of justice made it an imperious, though a painful duty on me, to prosecute them;—that painful duty I have performed;—the ends of justice are answered.” [*Here the Learned Counsel was so much AFFECTED, that his voice became inaudible, and his agitation increas-*

ed to such a degree, that but for the support of Mr. Jervis, who sat near him, HE WOULD HAVE FALLEN.] When a little recovered, he resumed:—"Gentlemen, I entreat your pardon, but I have not been very well in health; I was about to state to you, that I consider the ends of justice as answered, and therefore I shall here drop the prosecution against the remainder of the prisoners. In looking into the cases of the prisoners untried, I perceive (though there is proof to convict) there are circumstances to palliate; and after what has taken place here, I trust there will be found none, or if any, only the most degraded and degenerate, who will fall in future into the error in which the prisoners have fallen."

Mr. BROUGHAM observed, "after the statement of his Learned Friend, who did equal honour to *his feelings*, and to the *humanity of the Government* under which he acted, little remained for him to say. He could not, however, allow the opportunity to pass, without declaring how grateful to the feelings of his mind it had been, that in his feeble attempts to defend the unfortunate men who had intrusted their cause to him, he had been opposed to a *prosecutor so humane as his Learned Friend*, which, by his conduct, he had proved himself to be. One assertion of the Attorney-General's, however, he could not give credit to, and that was, that his *indisposition* was the effect of *ill health*. He was convinced it was the disease of A FEELING HEART, sinking and overpowered in its struggle to discharge a painful though necessary duty. He trusted, however, the mercy extended to these unfortunate men, would not be misplaced; and that they would not repay with ingratitude that country which had again, with so much mercy and forgiveness, opened her arms to receive them."

The other three prisoners, viz. *Noah Francis, Philip Lathey*, and *James Fibbs*, were then put to the bar, with *Teaster*.—The ATTORNEY GENERAL observed, it was fit he should state to the prisoners the grounds on which he forbore to prosecute them—it was not that he should find any

difficulty in establishing their guilt, or that they were not guilty, as they in their own minds very well knew; but it was that the Crown had extended its mercy towards them; and he hoped that mercy being so extended to them, would operate so as to have an effect on their future lives.—The prisoners, there being no evidence produced against them, were then declared—*Not Guilty*.

The prisoners already convicted, namely *William Cundle* alias *Connel*, *Cornelius Parker*, *John Tweedale* alias *Twedle*, *John Quigley* alias *Coigley*, *John Smith*, *George Armstrong*, and *Samuel M'Farlane*, were then placed at the bar, and having been severally asked what they had to say for themselves why sentence of death should not be passed upon them, they all threw themselves on the mercy of the Court; and Quigley, after lamenting the fault he had been guilty of, declared his readiness, if mercy were extended to him, to serve his country to the last drop of his blood.—

The CHIEF BARON (MAC DONALD) then proceeded to pass sentence in the following terms:—"Prisoners, the scene which is passing here at this moment, is one of the least expected Great Britain ever saw; for some years past, not a Session of Parliament has gone over without the Thanks of the Public having been conferred on the gallant Officers and Seamen composing our Navy, for the performance of some noble achievement for the benefit of their country; and scarcely a week passed by that we do not read accounts in the newspapers of brilliant acts of courage displayed against the enemy by those employed in the sea service; and, it is indeed an unexpected sight to see British Seamen *deserting their King, and ranging themselves under the banners of the enemy*. You, however, have each of you been found guilty under a *prosecution* conducted against you, not only with *humanity*, but with a degree of *delicacy* which must have been evident to every one present during the course of these proceedings; the law in its humanity, directs you should have assistance, and you have had the most able. The offence of which you have been found guilty is the highest, except effecting the very death of the King, that our law recognizes.—(*To be continued.*)